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The Burning of the Caroline

AND OTHER REMINISCENCES OF

1837-38, BY

REAR ADMIRAL DREW

COMMANDER OF THE EXPEDITION

AND

JUDGE WOODS.

CHATHAM :

THE BANNER PRINTING COMPANY.
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TO THE READER--

Having received several requests for copies of my narrative of "The Cutting out of the Caroline," with which I could not comply; and having through the kindness of my friend, Mr. George H. Mills, of Hamilton, President of the Wentworth Historical Society, procured from the Hamilton Spectator, Admiral Drew's account of it, I have been induced to republish my own, because I could accompany it with so full and reliable a statement from the highest authority.

That it was a most perilous enterprise, from whatsoever standpoint looked at, is made clear from the Admiral's words, and in no respect was it more so, than as an international one.

The Jamieson raid in South Africa revives the memory of this bold assault upon the territory of a friendly state; and my friend, ex-Governor Robinson, in writing recently for a copy of my paper, — which I could not send him, says: "It was greatly worse than Dr. Jamieson's raid, and all of you should have been sent (as he seems to have been), to England to be tried for making war on a friendly nation."

This, in all probability would have followed, but that the British Government at once assumed the responsibility of the act, and among other important results saved Alexander McLeod, the Deputy-Sheriff of the Niagara district, from being hanged as an alleged participator in the affair.

Finding that my humble contribution may safely re-appear under the aegis of the Admiral's flag, I make no further excuse for its republication, just as it appeared eleven years ago.

R. S. WOODS.

SIRS, It seems to be the thing, just now, to recall the leading events of the country by way of "Personal Recollections." The report of ex-Mayor Harmon, of Detroit, on the battle of Windsor, and the interesting account in your paper of the great naval duel between the Alabama and the Kearsage, in which one of our Chatham boys, William Gouin, was a hero, and the still later very interesting account by James Dougall, Esq., of the battle of Windsor, have led me to recall some of my recollections of a memorable event that took place during the rebellion of 1837, and I venture to make my contribution to that eventful period by giving you the particulars of the Caroline expedition and some other incidents of the time. I was not on the western frontier at all during the troubles, and can, therefore, say nothing about them up here. Besides, your recent article on the necessity for a more comprehensive Extradition treaty between the States and Canada reminds me that the destruction of the Caroline was the occasion of that treaty; and the enquiry just made in the Dominion Parliament as to the intention of the Government to recognize in some way the services of the men who were engaged in putting down the rebellion of '37, suggests this as an appropriate time for one's statements.

THE CUTTING OUT.

This steamer was "cut out" on the night of the 29th of December, 1837, at Schlosser, on the Niagara River, in the State of New York. She had been built for salt water sailing, was copper-bottomed, and "a decent little craft," as her owner described her, and had been brought thro' the rivers and the Welland Canal to Buffalo, whence she set out in December, 1837, to do the piratical work of William Lyon McKenzie and the patriots and rebels with him on Navy Island.

The cause, character and consequences of that expedition are scarcely known to those of the present day—such histories as I have seen making scant reference to it.

Most of the actors in the enterprise,

Quorum pars fui,

have, I fear, passed away, or left Canada ; but I am led to think that my recollections of that event will not be without interest to many of your readers, even at this late day. The primary object was to prevent the rebels, patriots, and American sympathizers, brigands or pirates, as they were called, from receiving further aid from the States. The second was to show the American Government that, if it could not control its own people, and keep them from coming into our territory with arms, we would do it for them.

It was a work of great danger, owing to the very rapid current of the Niagara river, our ignorance of the force on the steamer, and the darkness of the night, Schlosser being only two miles above the Falls. I remember it being said that the breaking of an oar that night would be the loss of the boat and her crew.

THE COUP DE MAIN.

If not a coup d'etat, it was a coup de main that led to serious consequences, and gave rise to some important questions. The rebel camp on Navy Island was soon broken up ; a fierce state of feeling throughout the States, from Maine to Louisiana, aroused. The two governments of Great Britain and the United States were brought face to face on the question of international rights and obligations. Then came various acts of public violence by American subjects, such as the attempts at invasion at Malden, Windsor and Prescott, blowing up Brock's monument, the cutting out and burning of steamer Sir Robert Peel ; the shooting of Usher, and the threats to shoot Sir Allan McNab, and every one engaged in the work ; the trial of McLeod for murder, at Utica, in 1841 ; the Act of Congress of the 10th of March, 1838, "for the precise purpose of more effectually restraining military enterprises from the United States into the British Provinces, by authorizing the use of more sure and decisive preventive means ;" and the further Act of Congress affecting the rights of the Federal and State Courts, and declaring that, if such cases should arise thereafter, they should immediately be transferred to the Courts of the United States, and tho' last, not least, to the Extradition Treaty, in 1842, between Great Britain and the United States.

The world of that day had not received the fiery baptism in International Law, State rights and Foreign Enlistment Acts, that it has since got through the great civil

war of our neighbors, with its scintillations in the way of the Alabama, St. Albans, etc. ; but the correspondence between Mr. Webster, the Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Harrison, and Mr. Fox, the British Minister at Washington, shows a very critical state in the diplomatic relations of the two countries ; and there is no doubt that if McLeod had not been released war would have been the immediate result, and the ports of New York and Boston and other harbors would have been made familiar with cutting out operations. Indeed, it was on the floor of the Senate of the United States charged against Mr. Webster, that, as Secretary of State, in writing to the Governor of the State of New York, on the subject of McLeod's trial, he had supported his arguments by saying if McLeod was not released the city of New York would be laid in ashes.

I hardly need tell your readers that a cutting out process like this is a naval one, conducted with great secrecy, consisting of one or more boats, with muffled oars, men armed with cutlasses, pistols and boarding pikes, attacking, under cover of night, a hostile ship lying in port, and effecting her capture or destruction. This torpedo age will somewhat change the character of these visits, but while making them more destructive, will rob them of much of their old prestige, where personal courage and cool determination were the qualities most required in the attacking party.

Our party consisted of seven boats, with nine men each, the boat being the ordinary "yaw!" of the schooners and steamers then in port. I cannot do better than give the words of Sir Allan in his evidence in McLeod's trial : "A body of militia was assembled at Chippewa, in the month of December, 1837, and January 1838, to the number of between 2,000 and 3,000, to repel an expected invasion from rebels and American brigands assembled on Navy Island, and on the American Shore, near Schlosser. They were ordered out by the Lieut.-Governor, Sir F. B. Head. I assumed command of the forces there by his directions. I remember the last time when the Caroline came down previous to her destruction. From information I had received I had every reason to believe she came for the express purpose of assisting the rebels on Navy Island with men, arms, ammunition, provisions, stores, etc. To ascertain that fact I sent officers with instructions to watch the movements of the boat and report the same to me. These gentlemen told me they saw her land a

cannon, several men armed and equipped as soldiers, and that she had dropped her anchor under the east side of Navy Island. Upon the information I had previously received from highly respectable sources in Buffalo, together with the report of these gentlemen, I determined to destroy her that night. I entrusted the command of the expedition for the purpose to Captain A. Drew, R. N. I ordered the expedition, and first communicated it to Capt. Drew on the beach when the men embarked. A short time previous to the embarkation Capt. Drew was ordered to take and destroy the Caroline wherever he could find her. Seven boats were equipped and left the shore but I do not know the number of men in each boat. The last five words of that order, "whenever he could find her," nearly fired the continent as well as the Caroline.

As indicated by Sir Allan's testimony there was great secrecy in the movement, and it was supposed the steamer would be found at Navy Island instead of the American shore. I belonged to a company of volunteers which was organized in King street, Hamilton, on our way down, and christened by Sir Allan with his usual love of a joke, "The Elegant Extracts," as it was composed of young gentleman, chiefly from London, Woodstock, Hamilton and other places some 35 strong.

CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS.

Upon our company that night a call was made for as many volunteers as would go in for some work. The invitation was very generally accepted. We were furnished with a cutlass and pistol. I remember saying to the officer who gave me the latter, "Had you not better give me another?" to which he replied, "when you have used that you'll find you don't want another." The pistol was a single barrel and flint lock.

By nine o'clock we were at the beach, having no idea of our destination.

An incident occurred here that I may be pardoned for mentioning. Hearing that my friend John Askin, of London, the eldest son of the late Col. Askin, and brother of our late friend, Dr. Askin of this place, and one of our company had come down to the beach after the boats had got their complements, I foolishly said I would give him my seat and get one in another boat, having no idea of the strict rules of the service at a time like this. After trying to get into another boat without success, I went to Col. McNab and Capt. Drew, who were standing under the trees on Chippewa Creek

and explained my position. Sir Allan's answer was thoroughly characteristic of him, for at fifteen years of age he was an ensign and engaged in the defence of the fort at York, when it was blown up in 1813: "Why, you d—d young scamp, if you want to be shot, give my compliments to Capt. Beer, and tell him to take you in." This was more easily said than done, however, but by the aid of my friends I got into the boat quietly and lay on a pile of wet sand with my knees to my chin until we reached the final point of departure, a mile or so up the river where the last orders were to be given to the officers in command. In due time we reached our rendezvous, but two of the boats failed to put in an appearance, although we waited for them some time near a warehouse, not far from the steamer. Only five boats were present, or some 45 men in all. These were commanded by Captains Drew, R. N., Harris, R. N., (the father of Messrs. Edward and George B. Harris, of London), Beer, R. N., McCormick, R. N., and Zeeand. I can only recall a few names of those present Hamilton, O'Reilly, Frederick Cleverly, John A. Fraser, A. W. Schweigner, John Gordon, and W. S. Light. My old friend, Capt. J. W. Taylor, of the Lake Shore, Raleigh, says he was one of the number, and the captain, as one of the most expert and daring seamen, would find himself at home in this night's work.

AMERICA'S PRETENCE.

The Americans always claimed that the steamer was not hostilely engaged and not prepared for a visit such as ours. So far from this being the case, as we approached her bow we were challenged by a sentry demanding: "Who goes there?" and on our keeping quiet, he repeated the question, saying: "Answer or I'll fire," and he soon did fire into us. In support of this I give an extract from the evidence of Gilman Appleby of the steamer, at McLeod's trial: "There were 33 men on board, 10 of whom composed the crew, none of whom were armed; the first shot was from the river side near the bow of the boat; heard like two guns, but could not be positive, the next report was that of a gun fired on board the boat." Then one Stewart says, "When we first saw the boats they were nearly abreast the bow of the steamer, and out in the stream. I told Capt. Kennedy that he had better call them (the people on board), up from the lower cabin. The boats were headed towards the steamer. Capt. Kennedy called them from below. A few minutes before a man

by the name of Nichols came on board and remained on deck; he hailed them, asking who comes there, or something like it, that the answer was 'friends.' They appeared then to spring on their oars; the boats were four or five rods off. This witness proves the challenge, but suppresses the fact of Nichols firing.

The crews of our boats boarded fore and aft, and on both sides. Captain Stephen McCormick, R. N., was badly wounded, and I supported him for some time before his removal from the steamer. He was given a pension of £100 a year for this. Strange to say, when the trial was made to set the boat on fire nothing would burn, and for some little time the material taken by Capt. Drew for the purpose known as a "carcass," was forgotten, but on being brought forward it soon did its work.

The story of any person being on the steamer when she went over the Falls was not believed by any of us. Even Durfee was not killed on the boat, but on the land, and the evidence of the prosecution showed that the shot was from the land side. I saw no one on her when we left, and the evidence given on McLeod's trial shows that Capt. Drew and his men were anxious to let the men get ashore and simply capture the boat, which was tied to the dock. One of the witnesses for the prosecution at McLeod's trial said, "After setting the Caroline on fire the attacking party got into their boats and rowed up towards the warehouse, which, together with the public house, we expected they would attack, but they did not. Then they went back to the Caroline, took her in tow, and carried her into the stream."

Another witness describes the attempt to set her on fire. He being in the cabin, says, "previous to my going out of the cabin, one of them said, 'What shall we do with this fellow?' 'Kill him, said another.' 'No, take him prisoner,' said a third. An officer said, 'we don't want prisoners, let him go ashore.'"

On getting the steamer into the stream we left her and had to run the gauntlet of the batteries on Navy Island, the light from the boat making us a fine target for their guns, and between the current and the batteries, we realized with force, Virgil's well-known verse,

Incidit in Scyllam qui vult vitare Charybdim.

But the days of "bull's eyes" were not yet, and so we escaped unhurt. I did not see the Caroline go over the Falls, as before this happened we were in bed.

In 1881 I fell in with a fine genial gentle-

manly person at Duluth, who was introduced to me as Col. Waite, who had been at Navy Island in 1837, and he said he was in command of the guns that were fired at us that night as we returned from our work at Schlosser, and we had a hearty laugh over the way in which he DIDN'T HIT US.

ARREST AND TRIAL OF M'LEOD.

The trial of McLeod was an absorbing event at the time, and I am sure a fuller reference to it will be welcome to many of your readers. McLeod had been for many years the Deputy-Sheriff of the Niagara District.

Mr. Webster, in his defence of the Treaty of Washington, in the Senate in April, 1846, makes the statement: "Being on this side of the line, and making foolish and false boasts of his martial achievements, McLeod was arrested in Nov. 1840, on the charge of the murder in capturing the Caroline, and committed to prison by the authorities of New York. He was bailed; but violence and mobs over-awed the Courts, and he was re-committed. This was an important and very exciting occurrence. Mr. Fox made a demand for his release. The administration of VanBuren roused itself, and looked around to ascertain its position. Mr. Fox again asserted that the destruction of the Caroline was an act of public force, done by public authority, and avowed by the English Government, as the American Government had long before known."

THE TRUE RING.

The demand by Mr. Fox, in his dispatch of March, 1841, to Mr. Webster, had the true ring about it, and sounds like that under which Mason and S idell were given up in 1861, both the inspiration of Lord Palmerston. Here it is: "And the undersigned is now instructed to again demand from the Government of the United States, formally in the name of the British Government, the immediate release of Mr. Alexander McLeod," but it sounds strangely to our ears to-day to hear Mr. Fox, among other arguments why McLeod should not be tried, saying, "Neither can Her Majesty's Government admit for a moment the validity of the doctrine advanced by Mr. Forsyth that the Federal Government of the United States has no power to interfere in the matter in question, and that the decision thereof, must rest solely and entirely with the State of New York," and entering into an elaborate argument against the propriety of looking to the State of New York, instead of the Federal Government for redress.

President Harrison was of the opinion that the entering of United States territory by British troops for the purpose of capturing or destroying the *Caroline* was unjustifiable; that the British might have destroyed her if they could have found her on their side of the line; but she could not be followed into a port of the United States and there captured; but he was also of the opinion that the arrest and detention of McLeod were contrary to the Laws of Nations, even if he had been engaged in the destruction of the steamer, for his Government had assumed the responsibility of the deed. And Mr. Webster certainly seems entitled to credit for the prompt and explicit way in which he accepted the views of our Government.

HABEAS CORPUS.

The case was carried before the Supreme Court of the State of New York on habeas corpus. That Court decided that McLeod could not have the benefit of the defence that it was a public act on the part of Great Britain, and one for international adjustment, and sent the case down for trial; but the venue was changed to Utica. It is amusing to read Mr. Webster's opinion of that judgment. He says: "On the peril, and at the risk of my professional reputation, I now say that the opinion of the Court of New York, in that case, is not a respectable opinion, either on account of the result at which it arrives, or the reasoning on which it proceeds. This decision has been ably and learnedly reviewed by Judge Talmadge, of the Superior Court of the City of New York. Of this review the late Chief Justice Spencer says: 'It refutes and overthrows the opinion most amply.' Chancellor Kent says of it: 'It is conclusive upon every point. I should have been proud had I been the author of it.'"

TRIAL OF M'LEOD.

The trial opened at Utica, on the 4th day of October, 1841, and after lasting eight days, a verdict of not guilty was rendered within twenty minutes after the jury left the box. In addition to the defence that it was the act of the Government of Great Britain, an alibi was set up and so clearly established by the evidence of the most respectable witnesses from Canada, who personally attended at Utica, that the jury had no difficulty in deciding upon an acquittal. These witnesses were: Lieut. Col. Gilkison, now Superintendent of Indian Affairs, at Brantford, Mr. Wm. Press, and the several members of Capt. Morrison's family, of Stamford. But even if this result had not been reached there is strong evidence that

the United States Government would not have allowed McLeod to be punished; for in a letter to Governor Seward, of the 17th of March, 1841, Mr. Webster expressed the President's satisfaction at his being prepared to enter a *nolle prosequi* in the case. Mr. Webster, as Secretary of State, had directed that Mr. Crittenden, then United States Attorney-General, should go to Utica and see that McLeod got the full benefit of the position taken by our Government, and accepted by his own, that, being an act of public force, no individual of the expedition should be held responsible. Much of the evidence of this trial was taken by commission and the late Judge Brough, of Goderich, was the commissioner, and I recollect acting as Secretary for him when taking evidence at Hamilton.

The conduct of Judge Gridley, who tried his case, was most impartial, and while accepting as he did, and as he was bound to do, the ruling of the Supreme Court of the State, on that branch of the defence that deprived the prisoner of the position taken by the two Governments, he called special attention to that part of the evidence under commission as shewing that, if McLeod were really there, he would not have sought the evidence of the very men who could have proved him guilty. The only evidence taken by commission, and used at the trial, was that of Sir Allan, Capt's. Drew, Harris, Zealand, Beer, McCormick, Gordon and Light. Then it was that the Act above referred to was passed by Congress, that if such cases should arise thereafter, they should be immediately transferred to the Courts of the United States. McLeod's acquittal put an end to all questions concerning his case. It only remained, as Mr. Webster expressed it, "that a proper explanation and apology, all that a nation of high honor could ask, or a nation of high honor could give, should be obtained for the violation of territorial sovereignty, and that was obtained concurrently with the settlement of other questions in 1842," by the Ashburton Treaty.

ASHBURTON TREATY.

Among these, as I have said before, was the Extradition Treaty under which the "Patriot Societies," or "Hunters' Lodges" then in full operation, with companies and officers to carry on war in Canada, were completely broken up. By the way we are apt to forget how important a measure that Extradition Treaty was, for while it was the first of the kind between Great Britain and the United States, it was a provision

that had never before been known in any treaty between European nations, although since adopted by many of them, and Mr. Webster says of it, "I undertake to say that the article for the extradition of offenders has been of more value to this country, and it is of more value to the progress of civilization, the cause of humanity, and the good understanding between nations than can be readily computed." I ought to say, while this trial settled the important international difficulties, it also settled the most momentous question of what constitutes the genus "dead-head," so well known at the present day. One of the witnesses, who had been on the Caroline that day, describes himself as a dead head, and explains to the Court that he did not pay fare, but turned in and gave a lift as occasion required.

The expansion of the criminal code since 1842 shews the necessity of having the basis of the Extradition Treaty extended so as to protect both the United States and Canada from the villains who escape from either side and find asylums here and there. The treaty originally provided for the surrender of seven classes of offenders, viz., persons charged with murder, or assault with intent to commit murder, piracy, arson, robbery, forgery, or the utterance of forged paper. No change has since been made in the crimes for which extradition can be had under it; but this should no longer be delayed, and I am glad to see that the disposition of both Governments is greatly to extend the list of offences, and the mode of procedure, as has been done by statute in England and Canada.

The United States authorities, as remarked by Chief Justice Hagarty not long ago, have always surrendered offenders promptly and without legal quibbling, and in this we should follow their good example, and prevent our border towns from becoming harbors of refuge for the criminals of either country. But ought we to stop with an expanded extradition treaty? Do the times not demand something more? Why should not the Governments of the day, American, European and Asiatic form one great international confraternity, with a view to the suppression and surrender, not of the ordinary criminals only, but the extraordinary ones as well, found in the ranks of the dynamiters, Socialists, Anarchists, Nihilists, etc.?

The Edmunds' Bill, as introduced into the Senate of the United States within an hour after the report had reached Washington of the dynamite attempts upon the British

House of Commons and the Tower of London, is the key note to the legislation, and all honor is due to that gentleman for the bold and noble step thus taken by him. And it is encouraging to see that Senator Bayard who so prominently identified himself with this measure in the Senate, has been made Secretary of State in President Cleveland's cabinet. Why should the United States the refuge of all the people of the world—whose portals are thrown open to oppressed humanity everywhere, be made the forge and laboratory of all the infernal machines and explosives that the Rossas and Mosts choose to hurl against the innocent and helpless of the world? It is an outrage upon the liberties of a country such as the United States, and I am persuaded the moral sense of that great people will in due time provide a means for the suppression of such practice, and co-operate to the fullest extent with other governments in the extermination of these devils incarnate, and their fiendish work.

OPEN WINTER.

And now, having done with the important events connected with the Caroline, let us recall some of the lighter incidents of that day. The winter was open till February, though there had been sleighing just before Xmas, as we went from Oxford to Chippewa in sleighs. Those were not the days of MacAdam or plank as a rule, although Yonge street was partly macadamized, and a part of the road between Hamilton and Ancaster. I've seen twelve yoke of oxen drawing a 24-pounder on wheels, and literally wading through the mud, rivalling Grip's celebrated cartoon on the Winnipeg streets.

It was so mild that for a week at the beginning of January four or five of us were blockaded in the house of the Hon. Gilbert McMicken at Queenston, owing to the depth of mud and cut up as the only road was by the military operations going on. But our worthy host was a neutral, or as our friends on the other side would say, a copperhead in those days, and we had no scruples about quartering upon his well-filled larder; although from that day to this Canada has had no more loyal subject than Mr. McMicken. Our hostess was my good cousin, and to this day I have visions of her splendid pies and tarts so generously given us with everything else that was good.

By the way I see that this worthy couple have just been keeping their golden wedding in Winnipeg, and are both in the full enjoyment of health, and the many blessings with which they are favored, and I sin-

cerely hope they may yet be permitted to see many happy returns of this gracious anniversary

THE "ROSE."

For some days too we were on a schooner in the Niagara River, the "Rose," Captain Graham, R.N., above Navy Island, and a rough time we had of it; straw for our beds in the hold of the ship and cartouch boxes for our pillows. Under a "spring cable" we used to get opposite the Island and exchange shots with the batteries, but nobody that I remember was hurt on our good ship. Rifled Armstrongs and Henry-Martins were not the go in those days. Before the evacuation of the Island many of us, dissatisfied with what was considered too inactive a state of things on the frontier, left for home, and Col. McNab had been relieved of his command, when the Island was taken possession of by our men on the 14th of January. This closed my campaigning life, but one recalls with a shudder the rough experiences and exposure of the young volunteer—the feather bed soldier wholly unprepared for war's rough duties. I may instance some of these. I was among the first volunteers in the City of Hamilton under Col. MacNab and one of the 56 men of Gore who went down that night by the steamer "Gore" and saved Toronto. How we were welcomed. "A man of Gore" was a countersign anywhere and gave us a passe partout throughout this city. That night I went on guard at the city hall where I found the Hon. Chief Justice Robinson and The Hon. Mr. Justice Macaulay, both under arms and doing duty. This was my initiation into the romance of the volunteer and the luxuries of fat pork and dry bread. I can never forget the beauty of the day and the brilliant appearance the forces made that December morning as we marched out of Toronto up Yonge street to 'Montgomery's,' nor shall I forget being so blistered and cut up in my feet that I was forced to take off my boots and walk a part of the way in my stocking feet on our return.

MAJOR WELBY, BISHOP OF ST. HELENA

Apropos of this blistering, which I am told is the greatest obstacle to the regular infantry, I remember its leading to an acquaintance and intimacy on my part by which I have felt honored all my life. On marching from Hamilton under Col. MacNab to dislodge Dr. Duncombe, who was then in Norwich, London District, we found the roads between Hamilton and Brantford fearfully rough, and on getting to Brantford I was almost unable to walk.

Major Welby, formerly of the Dragoons in India, being at a friend's house where I was, came out to the kitchen to see me and then told me what would give me relief, viz: soaping the foot with a lather; this he made in a shaving mug and taking the brush went down on his knee and lathered one of my feet himself. And when we turned out that night at three o'clock to resume our march, I felt the good of the Samaritan's skill. O what an act of kindness and condescension it was. The Major subsequently entered the church, became the Incumbent at Sandwich and stayed in our house for several months. He is now, and for many years past has been Bishop of St. Helena; is the representative of one of the oldest families in England, going back beyond the Conquest, and was the highest type of the Christian soldier and gentleman I ever met. His memory is still warmly cherished by his old parishioners of Sandwich, and his endowment of the parish with a fine parsonage on the banks of the Detroit River has been a blessing to it ever since. I shall never forget in connection with that march the effect of music upon jaded and worn out men. When about a mile out of Ancaster the band of that town came out to meet and welcome us, and the effect of their gay tunes was magical, it seemed to lift us right out of the ruts and make us forget our sufferings. I have often read of the inspiring effect of music, but it is when you are about six inches down between the clay walls of one of our old-fashioned earth roads, carrying a good pack, that you can appreciate it.

On reaching Norwich we found that the Dr. had evidently learned that

He who fights and runs away,
Will live to fight another day.

We made the most of our disappointment, which was not as great, however, as that of Sir Garnet Woolsey and his brave volunteers on reaching Winnipeg, after 1000 miles march, to find no Riel, and as he may yet do on reaching Khartoum.

I remember well how much that night I enjoyed eating my roast goose at a rebel's fireside, which my good friend the late Mrs. Colone: Racy, of Mount Pleasant, had given me, with her blessing, as we left her loved household that morning.

A gay ball at Col. Ingersoll's hospitable mansion, and it was here I first met the venerable Colonel, and a pleasant week's visit at my late friend, Mr. Peter Carroll's, made a very agreeable diversion for the young soldier. As I said before, from this we went to the Niagara frontier in sleighs,

having a very jolly time of it.

One of the unpleasant consequences of being engaged in the Caroline was the fear of being secretly shot by some of those who had sworn to avenge the destruction of the steamer. At one time in 1838 we were all marked men, and I remember for two or three weeks that all of us who were in or about Hamilton were in constant danger of being shot, and as night came on my friends used to ask me to stay at their houses, so as not to expose myself after dark. Then we were wholly prevented from going into American cities lest it should be known that we had been one of the party. It gives one a lively sympathy with Irish landlord's and bailiffs, and others who are open to the attentions of the dynamite fraternity.

And now, in bringing my recollections to a conclusion, let me indulge in a reflection or two. These are perilous times, and England expects every man to do his duty.

ENGLAND'S POWER.

There are those among the prominent journals of the day who think the military power of England is not to-day what it was at the close of the first quarter or half of this century.

It is not to be denied that modern science has done much to remove England from the exceptional advantages enjoyed by her as an insular power, and notably in the sovereignty of the seas.

The resources of civilization are great levellers. But England to-day, in her outlying colonies, like Canada, Australia and others, has made up for this, and largely strengthened herself against any European or other alliance. As I look at passing events, they are tending rapidly to that federation of the empire that will give her irresistible force among the nations of the earth.

I am glad to say I am not among the number of those who see insurmountable difficulties in the way of Imperial Federation. The steam engine and telegraph are the great federators. To-day Winnipeg is nearer London than Edinburgh was fifty years ago.

I see in the rough machinery of war that is now touching if not straining every fibre of the empire, a strong manufactory of opinion in favor of Confederation, and what conservative England might have taken years to bring about, may by the stern logic of necessity, become a matter of a few months.

The recent offers of the colonies to give aid in the Soudan, and the actual participa-

tion of our voyageur contingent in the ascent of the Nile, under Wolseley, tells England that the colonies, like dutiful children, are ready to share in the dangers and the cost of her campaigns, wherever they may be. I have long seen that the Canadian Pacific railway would be a great factor in this proposed union.

A MILITARY ROAD.

What led the American Government to aid the building of their first Pacific road? That they might have a MILITARY road across the continent, for without it they could not deal with the hostile Indian tribes, and would lose California; and look at the consolidation in a commercial, military and political light that has followed. Four years ago our Pacific road was in embryo. This time next year India and Australia will be nearer England than they ever were before, and a great deal nearer Canada.

We recall how, in December, 1861, at the time of the Trent difficulty, our troops had great trouble in getting from Halifax to Quebec, taking some twelve days to reach the Grand Trunk railway at Rivière du Loup; and the Red River expedition in 1870, under Wolseley, that took several weeks from Thunder Bay to Winnipeg.

Now, with our Intercolonial and Canada Pacific railways, those troops could leave England and be at Vancouver in less time than it took to get from Halifax to Quebec. Here at once we see the spinal column of Imperial Federation. What may we not expect when we see the grand portage between Asia and Europe covered by our Canadian railway 2,898 miles long, bringing Vancouver within 12 days run from England, and enabling troops from England to reach Calcutta in nearly as possible the same time as troops from England via the Suez Canal. And if from any cause, political or physical, the canal were closed, and the Cape had to be doubled, then many days shorter than by that route. And what of the splendid commerce of the east and west? When Liverpool will find itself ten days nearer Hong Kong, and 22 days nearer Yokohama, than by the Suez Canal. And as compared with the American Pacific road, Yokohama will be 1,100 miles nearer Liverpool by ours.

In a few months hence we shall see the representatives at Ottawa from British Columbia as near the seat of Government as those from Toronto to Quebec were in 1854; and, within a shorter time than I will venture to predict, we shall see the colonial representatives sitting in a Federal

Council in London, and in closer communication with their homes than Scotland's representatives were 40 years ago.

Here is the progress of events, here the development of the federation germ.

THE MORAL.

But my recollections would be of little value did I not draw the moral—present the practical thought—that thought is this—**HOLD TO CANADA AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE EMPIRE.** Be strong in loyal attachment to the Crown, and determined to do what in you lies to perfect the bond between the mother country and the colonies. The dethronement of England, with all her present troubles, has not yet taken place. Behind the throne is a greater than Pitt, or Disraeli or Gladstone. She has her destiny yet to fulfill. Towards this every Canadian, young or old, may contribute.

History repeats itself continually. In looking back at the leading events in our history I am amazed to see how small events and almost individual efforts have worked great results. Owing to Sir Francis Head having sent all the regular troops to Lower Canada, Upper Canada in 1837 was nearly lost to Britain. The timely arrival at Toronto that night of Col. McNab in the steamer "Gore," with his 56 men, gave fresh courage to the loyal party, alarmed the rebels and saved the city for the night and until reinforcements could come from other quarters; then the destruction of the Caroline and Col. Prince's summary punishment of the invaders saved Canada at that critical period.

Then look back at the war of 1812-15. Upon how slight a thread did British supremacy then seem to hang when exposed to a hostile frontier of 2,000 miles, and a people whose bitterness to us was that of our own cousins. See what the prompt action of a flock could do in the expulsion of the enemy from the western peninsula and the capture of Detroit. And so at Queens-ton Heights, Chateauguay, etc. Looking further back, but for the combination of American and French forces at Yorktown in 1781 ours might yet be the 13 English colonies and all the splendour of their development into the great nation they are now; and looking still further back to the conquest of Quebec by Wolfe in Sept., 1759, we see the fall of the French on this continent; and but for that victory that day there might have been no United States of America, for the 13 colonies with British power on this continent would in all probability have been forever driven back into the sea.

Motives are great forces. Let the young men and young maidens—the future mothers of loyalists—learn the precious lesson of devotion to our country. Learn to be true—

True as the dial to the sun.
Although it be not shone upon!

PATRIOTISM.

Let no prospect of social or pecuniary advantages seduce them from their native land. It is large enough and rich enough for all, and is a land more favored with political, educational, commercial, social and christian influences than any other section of the world in proportion to its population.

Why is it that every American youth is radiant with patriotism? Because as a native born he may become the President of the great Republic, and the more humble his birth and life the better his prospects. Here is a motive power, and what is the result? A nation of ardent, intelligent patriots, ready for any sacrifice for the good of their country, and God knows that no nation in the history of the world has ever made so great a sacrifice for truth and liberty as this. And they are prepared to make further sacrifices for their liberties as a christian people. The old puritan fires are yet there and they will flash up yet in defence of truth and right.

Where is the political prophet who can foretell the effect of that Bible incident at the inauguration of Mr. Cleveland, when he was sworn into the high dignity of President of sixty millions of freemen upon the Bible which his good mother gave him when he left home? What a harvest of Bibles will yet be put into the sacks of the youth of America. What an influence for good will that good Christian mother have wrought throughout the world in that gift! O that more Bibles were given by the mothers of America and Canada to their sons as they leave home! Then would there be more patriots—more Cleveland's Garfields—Washingtons Havelocks—Gordons and Gladstones!

But as the young American looks forward to the Presidency let the young men of Canada look forward to being the worthy successors of Sir John A. Macdonald and other distinguished colonists—Sir John being now pronounced by Blackwood's Magazine the foremost colonial statesman, and who, as a member of the Privy Council of England, may yet come to enjoy this distinction among Imperial statesmen. Let the young Canadian feel that he has a future before him that would make him the Premier of England, with her empire of 300,000,000 of subjects; and may he feel that every energy of his life shall be given to her unity and supremacy, and his last prayer be **ENGLAND FOREVER.**

'Tis a glorious charter, deny it who can,
That is breathed in the words I'm an Englishman.'

Yours truly,

R. S. Woods.

